

Refuge of Oppression.

VALANDIGHAM GIVING "AID AND COMFORT" TO THE TRAITORS.

Extracts from an inflammatory and sedition speech delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, January 11, by the notorious VALANDIGHAM OF OHIO:

What, I ask, is the immediate, direct cause of disunion and this civil war? Slavery, it is answered. Why? Because the South obstinately and wickedly refused to restrict or abolish it at the command of philosophers or fanatics and demagogues of the North and West. Then, sir, it was abolition, the purpose to abolish or interfere with and banish slavery, which caused disunion and war. Sir, it is only the subject, but abolition the cause, of this civil war. It was the persistent and determined agitation in the free States of the question of abolishing slavery in the South, because of the alleged "irrepressible conflict" between the forms of labor in the two sections, or in the false and mischievous cant of the day, between freedom and slavery, that forced a collision of arms at last. Sir, that conflict was not confined to the territories. It was expressly proclaimed by its apostles as between the States also, against the institution of domestic slavery everywhere. But, assuming the platform of the Republican party as the standard, and stating the case most strongly in favor of that slavery, it was the refusal of the South to consent that slavery should be excluded from the territories that led to the continued agitation, North and South, of that question, and finally to disunion and civil war. Sir, I will not be answered now by the old claim that "the aggressions of the Slave Power." That miserable despatch, that cynical mockery, was a lie, a falsehood, and expounded by debased malice and blood. If that power did govern this country for the sixty years preceding this terrible revelation, then the sooner this administration and government return to the principles and policy of Southern statesmanship, the better for the country; and that, sir, is already, or soon will be, the judgment of the people. But I deny that it was the "Slave Power" that governed for so many years, and so wisely and well. It was the Democratic party and its principles and policy, moulded and controlled, indeed, largely, by Southern statesmen. Neither will I be stopped by that other cry of mingled fanatics and hypocrites about the sin and barbarism of African slavery. Sir, I see more of barbarism and sin, a thousand times, in the continuance of this war, the dissolution of this Union, the breaking up of this government, and the enslavement of the white race by debt and taxes and arbitrary power. The day of fanatics, and sophists, and enthusiasts, thank God, is gone at last; and though the age of chivalry may not be of practical statesmanship is about to return. Sir, I accept the language and intent of the Indiana resolution of the Union. Whoever hates negro slavery more than he loves the Union, must demand separation at last. I think that you can never abolish slavery by fighting. Certainly, you never can till you have destroyed the South, and then, in the language first of Mr. Douglas and afterwards of Mr. Seward, converted this government into an imperial despotism. And, sir, whenever I am forced to a choice between the loss to my own country and race of personal and political liberty with all its blessings, and the involuntary domestic servitude of the negro, I shall not hesitate one moment to choose the latter alternative. The sole question to-day is between the Union with slavery or final disunion, and, I think, anarchy and despotism. I am for the Union. It was good enough for my fathers. It is good enough for us, and for our children after us.

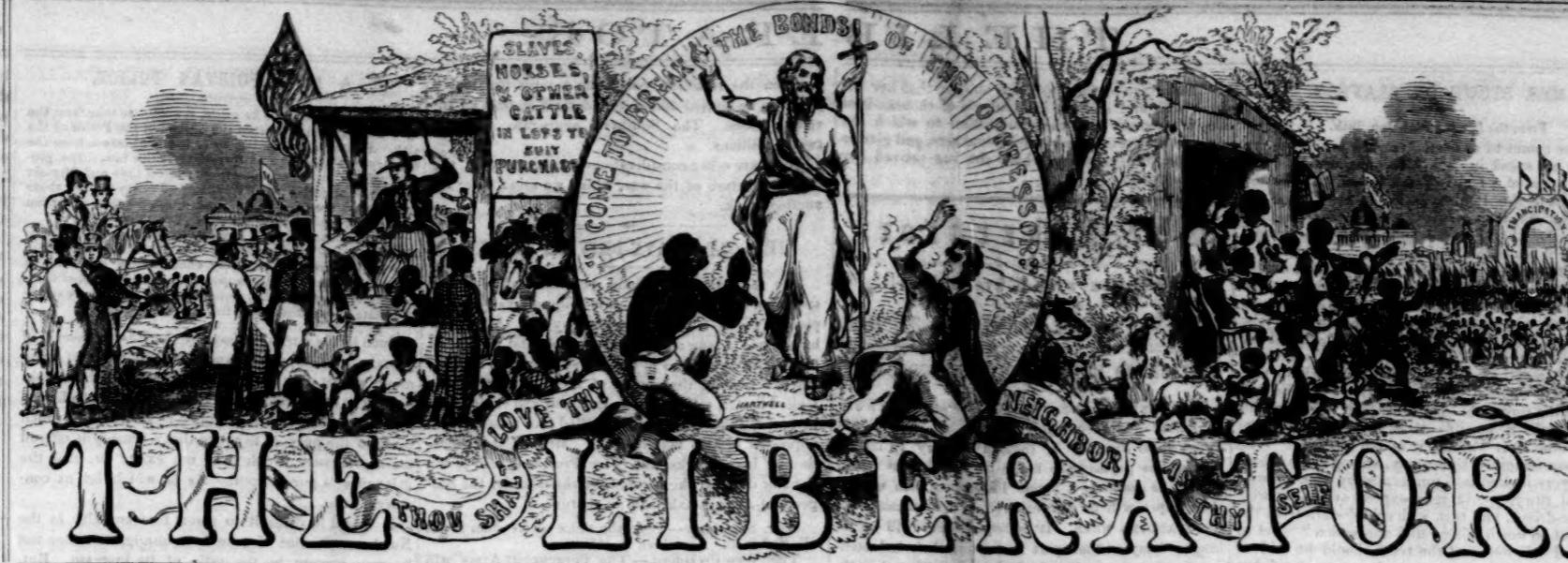
And now the way to reunion: what so easy? Be bold to-day to separate governments in one country, and without a natural dividing line: with two Presidents and Cabinets, and a double Congress; and yet under each a Constitution so exactly similar, the one to the other, that a stranger could scarcely discern the difference. Was ever folly and madness like this? Sir, it is not in the nature of things that it should continue.

But why speak of ways or terms of reunion now? The will is yet wanting in both sections. Union is consent and good will and fraternal affection. War is force, hate, revenge. Is the country at last of war? Has the experiment been tried long enough? Has sufficient blood been shed, treasure expended, and misery inflicted in both the North and the South? What then? Stop fighting. Make an armistice—no formal treaty. Withdraw your army from the seceded States. Reduce both armies to a fair and sufficient peace establishment. Declare absolute free trade between the North and South. Buy and sell. Agree upon a north-south railway. Recruit your fleets. Break up your blockade. Reduce your navy. Restore travel. Open up railroads. Re-establish the telegraph. Reunite your express companies. More monitors and iron-clads, but set your friendly steamers and steamships again in motion. Visit the North and West. Internally. Let slaves alone. Hold elections as appointed times. Choose a new President in 1864. And when the gospel of peace shall have descended again from heaven into their hearts, and the gospel of abolition and of hate been expelled, let your clergy and churches meet again in Christian intercourse, North and South. Let the secret orders and voluntary associations everywhere meet as brethren once more. In short, give to all the natural and all the artificial causes which impel us together, their full sway. Let me do my office—drying tears, dispelling sorrows, mellowing passion, and making herb and grass and tree to grow again upon the hundred battle-fields of this terrible war. *

Friendly mediation—the kindly offer of an impartial power as a daysman between the contending parties of this most bloody and exhausting strife—ought to be met in a spirit as cordial and ready as that in which it is proffered. It would be churlish to refuse. Certainly, it is not consistent with the former dignity of this government to ask for a mediation; otherwise, it would be fit to me to do it. The Emperor of France, I would accept it at once. Now is the auspicious moment. It is the speediest, easiest, most graceful mode of suspending hostilities. Let us hear no more of the mediation of Europe, and the sword. The day for all this has gone by.

* Where will John Brown's soul take up its line of march next? It seems to have beat up a retreat in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. The Republicans still sing the song in New Jersey, but it will be soon hushed in profound silence. John Brown's soul will find Jersey a hard road to travel. Jerseymen don't believe in conspiracies to murder. They believe in putting down all such rebels as the friends of John Brown, Jeff. Davis & Co. The souls of Washington, Jefferson and Jackson are keeping watch in New Jersey, and are marching the friends of Constitutional liberty to victory.—Trenton True American.

Sir, after all, this whole war is not so much one



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

Selections.

WORK OF THE DEMAGOGUES.

The systematic efforts which are now in progress to create alienations and hostilities among the several and loyal parts of the country, are beginning to assume an alarming importance. They have their origin, as is well known, with a few selfish partisans, who expect that to widen the gulf of separation and enmity which they have lost. These men are doing nothing for their country, but are basely calculating how much they can make for themselves out of its ruins. They have been, from the beginning, in a greater or less degree, sympathizers with the rebellion. They have stood aloof from all the trials and sacrifices of the war. They have given nothing, either of their blood or their treasure, for the defence of the national life; but in every hour of disaster and gloom they have come forth from their hiding-places, to sow the seeds of jealousy and dissension among those who should be united in one great and glorious endeavor for the salvation of the periled Republic.

These attempts all aim at one result, and that is, to divide the loyal people of the country upon the question of slavery. And inasmuch as slavery is regarded with more unmitigated hatred in some portions of the country than in others, the design is to effect a separation between the two. In some quarters, the enterprise appears in one guise, in others it wears another, and a totally different one. In the West, it aims to make the people believe that they have, but few sympathies in common with the South, and that they are willing to make considerable sacrifices of interest, to forget the unheard of outrages under which they have suffered during the war. Can they believe them capable of soon burying all that they have done, and all that they have suffered? *

If the whole Yankee race should fall down in the dust, and cease to be, let their masters and their slaves even as slaves. Our only wish is to be separated from them finally and forever—never to see the face of one of them again—never to hear the voice of another Yankee on the south side of the Potomac or the north—have no traffic and no intercourse of any description whatever with them. We are fighting for separation and we will have it, if it cost the life of every man in the Union.

We are aware that many persons believe that the party of which Brooks and Van Buren are representatives, desire and design to restore peace, and that at present they dare not speak out their real sentiments, which are in favor of separation. We do not believe they are in favor of any such thing. They would like peace on earth, and a quiet life, and a quiet home; but there is no quiet life for them, for they have not even allowed to his arrival home, for fear that some interest might be excited among their duped readers in reference to what he might have to say about his sojourn in rebellion. While their partisans with the most infamous and wicked secessionists, gathered up from the savings of the Valandigham, the New York *World*, *Herald*, *Argus*, and other sources black with treason—the noblest utterances of this New England Democrat are studiously suppressed. Upon slavery, its direct agency in originating all our existing troubles, the barrier it presents to the establishment of a permanent and honorable peace, he speaks from experience; and from the fact that his mind has been made up in the face of strong and deep rooted prejudices in the other direction, his "words that burn" in defense of universal liberty should make a living and lasting impression upon the great heart of New England.

In the event of a refusal to return to the Union, they would, to a man, unite in hounding on the assassins who are desolating our country and murdering our people, as fiercely as they have ever been bounded on by Beecher and Hale. They look only to their pockets when they preach of reconciliation and restoration. If the same object could be effected by entirely destroying the Union, they would do it. * * *

Doctrines like these, arrayed in such exciting rhetoric as demagogues know how to use, have lately been put forth in the editorials of several leading newspapers, in the speeches of a considerable number of politicians and members of Congress, and we are sorry to add, in the inaugural message of more than one State Governor. They are intended, by whomsoever propagated, to create sectional alienation, and to gain the favor of the people that the price of the free States is now, or are fast becoming satisfied that the price of the Union is the utter suppression of Abolition or Anti-Slavery as a political element, and the complete subordination of the spirit of fanaticism and intermeddling which gave it birth. *

What did the Confederates demand at first? Separation and recognition of their independence. Projection from the irreconcileable conflict, and the domination of the absolute numerical majority. A change of public opinion, and, consequently, of political parties in the North and West, so that their local institutions and domestic peace should no longer be endangered. And now, sir, after two years of persistent and most gigantic effort on the part of this Administration to compel them to submit, but with utter and signal failure, the people of the free States are now, or are fast becoming satisfied that the price of the Union is the utter suppression of Abolition or Anti-Slavery as a political element, and the complete subordination of the spirit of fanaticism and intermeddling which gave it birth. *

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Poetry.

For the Liberator.

LINES,

On hearing of the noble generosity of our American brothers to our suffering operatives.

Ye have conquered us, oh brothers!

Though not in battle-field;

For our hearts are taken captive

By the generous aid ye yield.

Ye had heard of our poor workmen,

Their starving babes and wives;

Of their patient, brave endurance,

Though famine waste their lives;

Of their homes, once filled with comforts,

Now stripped to the bare wall;

For their hands can find no labor—

And ye pitying heard their call;

And ye felt they were your brothers—

For both bear the same descent

From the stern, unbending Briton,

Long by Roman yoke unbroken;

From the indomitable Vikings,

Claiming empire of the seas;

From the proud and valiant Normans,

And from merchants, brave and free;

We speak the self-same language,

Read the same historic page—

Both are proud of our old poets,

And old writers, learned and sage.

Be there no more strife between us,

Causing misery and tears,

But the strife of loving brothers,

In the blessed coming years;

The kind strife of loving brothers,

How to do each other good,

Leaving other States the glory

Proudly bought by blood & bane?

What a noble, great example

All nations then will see,

When America and Britain,

The nations of the free—

All old jealousies forgotten—

Honor each other's worth ;

And in small things though they differ,

Yet agree to bless God's earth !

Hastings, Sussex, England.

JANE ASHBY.

For the Liberator.

EMANCIPATION.

Tune—AULD LANG SYNE.

I.

'Tis done!—the righteous deed is done!

Proclaim'd the jubilee!

Columbia hails her faithful son,

The Father of the free!

The Father, &c.

II.

Alot the signal flag is raised—

The swift wing'd tidings fly :

Glory to God! his name be praised!"

Unnumber'd tongues repeat.

Unnumber'd, &c.

III.

Hail her!—her drooping head—

A smile her tears restrain;

Though mourning still her noble dead,

Who died to break her chains.

Who died, &c.

IV.

Fair Freedom lifts her drooping head—

A smile her tears restrain;

Engrave it on the rock of fame,—

He freed his native land!

He freed, &c.

V.

A blessing on our Chieftain's name,

Who gave the great command;

Engrave it on the rock of fame,—

He freed his native land!

He freed, &c.

VI.

And let the listening nations hear,

Throughout creation's bound;

That Freedom has her dwelling here—

Her land is holy ground!

Her land, &c.

VII.

A refuge for the suffering poor;

A home for the oppressed;

She opens wide her friendly door,

And feeds them from her breast.

And feeds, &c.

VIII.

No more, his eyes with weeping dim,

The slave uplifted pines;

The stripes and stars now shelter him—

The sun, &c.

IX.

Huzza! proclaim the jubilee!

Let grateful anthems rise!

"Huzza! Columbia's land is free!"

Re-echoes through the skies.

Re-echoes, &c.

X.

Now let the host of traitors come,

With foreign foes allied,

One tap on Freedom's lamen drum,

The world, &c.

F. M. ADLINGTON.

PROCLAMATION LINES—Jan. 1st, 1863.

BY A. M. THOMSON.

I heard the silver voice of angels ery,

And Echo sent it all along the sky,

"Hoosan unto him who sits on high!"

Yes, glory be to him that we should see

With these poor eyes this day of jubilee,

And one more race of waiting souls set free."

And as the wondrous portals were unrolled,

I saw them writing in their books of gold,

The date that all the prophets had foretold.

And while they wrote it with their pens afame,

The patriot saints of every age and name,

Made Heaven vocal with their glad acclaim!

The stars grew brighter in the firmament,

And every tongue that sang in Heaven lent

Its voice, and down to earth the anthem sent.

The earth prolonged the glorious strain,

And FAZED was the grand refrain

Of every echo, erred and name.

They shall not feel the bloodhounds smarting gash,

Or know the sting and pain of well plied lash,

Or the dumb ache when flinches passion clash.

But over in the arch of their dark sky,

The sacred bow of promise hangs high—

Their hopes of being free no more can die!

Let tyrants sigh, and draw their last lament,

The arrow to their idol's heart is sent:

God bless the archer who the bow hast bent!

O, sacred LIBE'y! how dear art thou!

How radiant gl. is the youth upon thy braw!

And never half so beautiful as now!

SUPPLICATION.

Lord, deliver! thou canst save;

Save from evil, mighty God;

Hear, O hear, the kneeling slave!

Break, break, the oppressor's rod!

Love to man and love to God

Are the weapons of our war;

These can break the oppressor's rod,

Burst the bonds that we abhor.

THE LIBERATOR.

The Liberator.

GERIT SMITH TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

PETERBORO', Jan. 12, 1863.

HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR:

DEAR SIR.—I have read your Message. Although I belong to no party, I belong to a country. Although there are no party interests for me to promote and adjust myself to, I feel the preciousness of the interests of my country, and am deeply and abidingly concerned for their safety. Seldom more than when reading your Message have I felt the great peril of those interests; for I remember the utterance of that dangerous doctrine is emphatically, if not indeed pre-eminently, the mouthpiece of a party comprising nearly half the voters of the Free States. I remember, too, what great weight with his party have the words of a gentleman of commanding talents, high culture, multiplied influential public relations, bland and winning manners, admired social and domestic life. How could I fail to fear that the Democratic party, if not already fully identified with these dangerous doctrines, will, by force of such commendations of them, soon become so?

I. I find denunciation in your Message, but no denunciation of the rebels. The Cotton States and the New England States do, in your esteem, share about equally in the guilt of the Rebellion! New England, because she suffered her Garrison to write against slavery, and her Phillips to talk against it, is in your eyes as criminal as the bloody men who flew at the throat of their offending country! New England, who, to help them down, promptly armed hundreds of thousands of her cherished sons, and promptly poured out scores of millions of her wealth, has no less of your censure and no more of your favor than have those bloody men! And yet you propose to put down the Rebellion! But how can this be done, if nearly half of us are like yourself? How could we have the heart to do it, even at little cost—much less at the required cost—if the rebels are no worse than the people of New England? And how, if we had the heart, would it be practicable, should you succeed, as is your too manifest intent, in arraying the Western and Central States against New England instead of Robledon?

2d. I see you still regard that the satanic compromise proposed two years ago was not adopted. I call it satanic, because it was to be a compromise between two guilty parties at the sole expense—and this, too, of an unwilling expense—of an innocent third party. Fresh outrages were to be heaped upon the negroes, and eternized. The malignity of this Democratic compromise, which not a few Republicans also favored, (for there are Republicans too who are capable of being satanized,) is equally only by its meanness. That they, who could propose further and greater crimes against the guiltless and helpless, could still make much account of their Bibles and churches, argues either their matchless delusion or their matchless brazenness. I do not say that they would have made themselves better by burning up their Bibles and churches, but I do say that they would have thereby made themselves infinitely more consistent.

3d. "The claim of power under martial law" you indignantly and utterly refuse to admit. You say that this claim "asserts" that the President may, in his discretion, declare war." I do not believe that it does, and I never before heard that it does. You say that it "exalts the military power of the President above his constitutional rights." I reply that this power is specifically one of those rights, inasmuch as the Constitution makes him the Head of the Army. I admit that he has no other official rights than what the Constitution gives him; and you should admit that it is only from martial law, or, in other words, the law of civilized warfare, that he can learn the measure of his rights as Head of the Army. You say that this "measure is fixed by the Constitution." Rather is it fixed by this martial law which you disparage. It also changes with this law, which changes with the progress of civilization. It is true that Congress has power to prescribe rules for war; but, on the other hand, it is not only true that it could not provide for a large share of the cases in which the Head of the Army might find himself, but also true that this power of Congress is to be exercised within the limits and according to the character of martial law. So long as that law shall forbid the poisoning of food or water, or the killing of prisoners, or the selling of them into slavery, Congress has no power to authorize these barbarisms. That a nation may carry on war according to its own laws, be they what they will, Christendom would never suffer. These laws must be conformed to the law of civilized warfare. If it is true, as recently reported, that the rebels shot twenty prisoners because they were black, and if also their government shall approve it, then will this enormous violation of the conventions of war not only go far to reveal the character of the rebels to the eyes of Europe, but it will also go far to damage their cause with her.

4th. Scouting as you do the doctrine of martial law, it is not strange that you deny the right of the Head of the Army to lay hands, even in time of war, on persons in a loyal State. Indeed, you do not admit that he may on persons in a revolted one. You decline saying whether such a State has lost any of its rights. Your language clearly implies that it has lost them all. Here, as well as elsewhere in the world, the power to put down the rebels, and to put them down irrespective of the bearing it might have on whatever interests. Naked plunderers and murderers were then entirely unanswerable; and they should have been put down with as total a disregard of consequences as would characterize the single purpose of a stern father in putting down his revolting child. Who doubts that, with such a disregard, they had been put down instantly? Suppose that scoundrels in Utica—your adopted and my native home—had, with arms in their hands, and using them, seized her funds, her fire engines, and her other corporate property, and that you had, at the time, been Mayor of Utica? You would, I suppose, have sought to unite them in the one purpose and one endeavor to subdue and punish the miscreants; ay, to subdue and punish them, come what might of Fire Department, Funds, or even Utica herself. I am wrong—they would already have been thus united. Such union would have been the necessary result of the outrage. Only bad counsels and partisan influences could have disunited them. The people of the North were united when they heard of the bombing of Sumter. But, also! our good and patriotic President temporized! The spirit, which should have sent him to the Legislature? Would you have sought in it to divide her citizens upon a multiplicity of issues respecting the future condition of her Fire Department, her funds and other interests? Oh, no! no! You could have made no Democratic and no other gain by such an insane policy. You would, beyond a doubt, have sought to unite them in the one purpose and one endeavor to subdue and punish the miscreants; ay, to subdue and punish them, come what might of Fire Department, Funds, or even Utica herself. I am wrong—they would already have been thus united. Such union would have been the necessary result of the outrage. Only bad counsels and partisan influences could have disunited them. The people of the North were united when they heard of the bombing of Sumter. But, also! our good and patriotic President temporized! The spirit, which should have sent him to the Legislature? Would you have sought in it to divide her citizens upon a multiplicity of issues respecting the future condition of her Fire Department, her funds and other interests? Oh, no! no! You could have made no Democratic and no other gain by such an insane policy. 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